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INJUSTICE AND NATIONAL DECAY

AN ESSAY—*by S. F. Shorey*

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AN OUTLINE PROLOGUE

TO so entitle a book as to suggest the subject matter is not a simple thing. Any one of a dozen or more names might have been used as the title of this essay. The one selected is descriptive, represents the essay in content, and is intended to convey the idea that the immediate cause of national decay and extinction is injustice.

Injustice is the near-at-hand cause of national decay. Monopoly is a form of injustice, an effect of selfishness. Back of selfishness may be found a cause still more remote, the one of ignorance. From out the animal man progress is unfolding the human, mental, and moral man. Life's conflict, process, or evolution is a march toward extended consciousness. Extinct civilizations and dead men are the dead forms of Nature's laboratory experiments with life.

Of the two factors of progress embraced by the two political parties the tendencies of the Conservative party have been herein considered more at length for the reason

that its evils are at this stage believed to be a greater menace than the evils of the opposite. Conservatives, or thrifty persons, are less selfish and unjust in small ways, perhaps, than the thriftless, but the wealthy have the means and the power to indulge their selfishness in large, concealed, and monopolistic ways, hence the entailed evils of their selfishness are very much greater.

In spite of the efforts of their few wise men, nations decay and die. Do they become extinct, as many believe, by having lived out the term of their natural lives? Do they die of old age, or are they, as others believe, gradually killed by dishonesty—a product of ignorance?

Cannot the cause be traced back—back to human ignorance?

May we not legitimately look upon this present world tragedy as one of Nature's efforts to make progress continuous by shocking the world into a higher general intelligence?

The chief value of history to the present generation lies in the philosophy of history—lies in showing how far the present is the product

of the past. Hence the philosophy of history should be sound.

The building of such a structure requires a knowledge of the civilizations of past ages.

The power of generalization is required. The factors of all of this move and pause, the cause of life and death, common to all, must be traced through the existence of each succeeding nation, if, in our search, we are to ascertain whether the cause of death was old age or disease—natural or artificial.

No remarkable discernment is required to see that each civilization evolves and passes on to its successor a gift of gain in progress.

This gain of permanent value seems to be the only way in which history repeats itself except in passing through a term of life.

History seems never to repeat a program. That is, the form through which national life is expressed seems never to be repeated. Each civilization gradually constructs for its particular use; each builds a new form fitted to serve the functions of a new and a higher life a new and larger life than any its predecessors have enjoyed, a form through

which added knowledge can be used and higher ideals be expressed.

Nor can the student who desires a **fundamental** understanding of history afford to stop with **history**. He needs in his mental equipment a knowledge of **life**.

History is but the story of life. Its tale is that of the onward and upward move of the masses through a succession of national forms.

The **roots** of history strike into a deeper soil than that which is commonly recognized as history.

Since history is a manifestation of human life, a sound philosophy of history requires that biology and psychology, as well as sociology, economics, and politics be taken into consideration.

Written history, in which there figures no philosophy of history embracing the factors of individual life and mind, is but the trunk and leafless branches of a dead tree. A sound philosophy of history makes history understandable.

Understanding is a matter of finding **fundamentals**. Political party functions, the production and the distribution of wealth, social

relations, monopoly, moral conduct, freedom, all remain befogged in the mind until given law and order by an equipment of many related fields of knowledge.

He who wrote "History repeats itself" has prevented millions from seeing in history only so much as the gradual rise, flourish, slow decay and extinction of nations. Men are limited in outlook by not being equipped with that which goes to complete and make useful what they call history.

Is there not in this unfolding proclivity of life, evident in all of the facts of life, the declaration of a purpose? In spite of life's chaotic seeming, is there not method in this move?

If we think to much purpose, are we not compelled to infer that the inharmony of life is due to broken natural law?

Are not men being driven through suffering to an ever better understanding of Nature's plan for their welfare, to see that it is much larger than their own? Are they not, by suffering, being awakened to the shorter way to intelligence, to a stronger will, and to a greater happiness? Are they

not being driven to rescue themselves from the hands of fate by self-cultivation?

The **brute** does **not** improve. A very large part of its fitness to survive lies in its power to overcome other brutes.

Most of the suffering in human life is due to the fact that the majority are still working along brute lines of survival, and the improvement is largely incidental.

In spite of their claim to superiority, do not most men fail to see the tremendous importance of their power of voluntary improvement? Are they not particularly blind to the tremendous natural struggle for moral expression in human life?

On the brute plane, predation is natural and legitimate.

For, the brute has not reached in life's unfolding move the place where the need of moral conduct appears. It is without conscience, has but little intelligence, little freedom of action, and its suffering seems confined largely to the physical.

Man has a power of choice which he has failed to use to high moral ends. His suppression and perversion of life's energies by dishonest use explain the turmoils of life. Un-

happiness is the fruit of "Bossism," autocracy, and monopoly—in a word to **injustice**.

Before, then, any man or group of men can be safely entrusted with very much power over others, must not the human family have increased very greatly in wisdom and in honesty? Today the best regulation is competition.

Were it possible at this time to set up a socialistic system of production and distribution, where could the group of men with sufficient wisdom and honesty be found that might be entrusted with the power that such a tremendous monopoly would place in their hands?

Until general intelligence and honesty have advanced far beyond the present stage, could not, and would not, a government thus powerfully equipped, even more emphatically than now, refuse justice to the masses?

Would not socialism in operation be a selfish, greedy autocracy, with all the means in its hands to achieve the most ambitious designs of its leaders? The masses are not yet sufficiently intelligent to act in their own behalf. Even though they **were** equipped with sufficient intelligence to act in their own be-

half, would they not be powerless to enforce their demands for justice, powerless to move against the powerful governing machine?

The ambition of small men is **not** money, but **power over others**. Money is but a means to this end.

The meaning of law, courts, prisons, safes, locks, bonds, mortgages, and war is that men and women, through ignorance and dishonesty, are led to abuse their freedom to act. At present men have too little intelligence to **use honestly** what freedom they have. Hence, the importance of competing parties.

Is there not all around us an evident effort of progress to bring ever greater justice into the conduct of men? Note Nature's rebuke of this dishonesty in all lands—manifesting itself in poverty, discontent, strikes, rebellion, and war. Are these not evidences that the moral aim has not been met?

Are we likely then to have become sufficiently enlightened and moral, when the present European struggle is ended, to be ready for the Millenium—a condition for which so little has been done in the way of educational preparation?

Must not the world pass through many wars, much autocratic slavery and suffering, ere it can see and feel with sufficient clearness to grasp the determined moral aim of the law of evolution?

There is, however, an educational means of preventing much of the suffering, could there come an awakening to its importance and to the fact that it could be used.

Nations, as well as men, are destroyed by ignorance and dishonesty.

Learning to live longer and better is a gradual process, and, improvement, so far, is largely a matter of being driven.

We have ever before us the injustice of men, a condition into which they are led by their autocratic desires, and from which we are almost obliged to infer that there is a long wade ahead through ignorance and suffering to a general realization that no one can be truly happy till all men are just.

Is there not much fighting ahead, fighting that no longer will be necessary, when it is clearly seen that the short way to justice and happiness is that of educational enlightenment?

We have before us the facts of life from which we may infer its purpose.

The experiences of living compel either a belief in the possibility of voluntary improvement or an abandonment of our educational ideals, and consequently of the belief in the free action of the human will.

Progress **has been** and still is a slow process, for the reason that there has never yet been sufficient general intelligence in the world to free production, distribution, and education from monopoly. Never in the history of the world has competition, for the above reason, been able to show what it could do to increase intelligence, to encourage honesty, to improve social conditions, and to promote happiness. It is not **competition** that **intensifies selfishness**, but **monopoly**. The best regulator, could it be inaugurated, till such a time at least that men are more enlightened, would be competitive freedom.

Men fail to grasp the moral aim of progress for the reason that they fail to look beyond the brute phase of unfoldment, in which the "climb" is by devouring.

Are not, then, the injustice of selfishness, greed, as manifested in monopoly and auto-

cratic rule, and the failure to recognize practically the moral aim of evolution, the immediate causes of national decay?

Is there not in evidence hereof a world-wide political, economic, social, and individual sickness, a great unrest, a turmoil, and little happiness?

But underlying this disturbance do we not find a still deeper cause in that lack of general intelligence which permits this condition to exist?

The thing needed is obvious. It is AWAKENING.

The purpose of this essay is a very brief but rational consideration of life's unfoldment, the location of some of the factors of progress, on the one hand, and to find, on the other, some of the obstructions and perversions,—that is, some of the antagonistic factors of growth.

Man must be **made** to go forward until he learns to improve without opposition, without individual and group rivalry, such as clubs, churches, and political parties.

Barbarism or hatred of work must be tortured out of men, and love of work tortured into its place. Laziness, lack of knowledge

and dishonesty account for the conflict of life. Have we not, then, a choice? Must it not be moral progress or national decay?

In feeling, what are YOU? A democrat or an autocrat, a conservative or a progressive?

A DANGEROUS SUPPRESSION

LIFE in all of its forms is equipped with a law of unfolding change, with a proclivity and a power that makes for improvement as unerring as that which moves the earth in its orbit. To obstruct the move of this energy or to deflect it from its natural line of expression involves great danger to the life of the vehicle through which it is endeavoring to function.

For, suppressed energy means imprisoned energy—power pent up—a force which ultimately will either escape in some form of destruction or will establish itself as an abnormal growth.

This holds true both of individual and of social life. Suppression of progress by fixed forms results in the perverted use of life's

energies, and explains their destructive escape, as may now be observed both in Mexico and in Europe.

Where old forms of ignorance, injustice, and tyranny have been sufficiently strong to dam up and hold back an accumulation, the pent up forces have always burst forth in some form of revolt.

In Spain these restrictions were of sufficient strength to produce national paralysis.

As a rule, however, this continuous rebirth in Nature cannot be long suppressed. And, though attempted in all countries, in even the most civilized, these efforts to suppress normal unfoldment, legitimate freedom to act, are followed by such breaking away as is manifested in different forms of rebellion and waste—in idleness, crime, strikes, anarchy, destruction, and domestic inharmony—the revolts of Nature, its protests against fixed forms of selfishness, against injustice, monopolies, conventional restrictions, and dogma.

Rebellion in some form and in all lands is always in operation and is the safety valve of national life.

Evolution is the natural “move” of unfold-

ing change; it is the program of life, of life feeling its way into improved instruments of material expression; it is a process of continuous rebuilding, a discarding of the unfit for the tentatively fit, for that which is better suited to meet the requirements of improved but temporary action.

This "move" is not confined to the field embraced by the biological sciences but works with the same tireless and irresistible determination to carve out higher forms of social, political, economic, mechanical, and religious expression.

Comparatively few persons have come to understand this natural demand of progressive change well enough to use it voluntarily (and of governments, not even one.) This explains the turmoils of life.

The growth of a tree is accompanied by change in the bursting of its bark. This phenomenon indicates that beneath the bark new cells are being formed. Enclose the trunk of the tree in a jacket it cannot burst, and it will die. Since it has been denied freedom of growth, it **must** die.

Failing, as most men unquestionably do, to understand the universal law of unfolding

life, failing to see that a moving poise, that an equilibrium of structure, cannot be preserved without meeting the requirements of the law of progress, men can neither **vote**, nor **act** in **other ways** with a high degree of intelligence.

POLITICAL PARTIES — CONSERVATIVE AND PROGRESSIVE

IT is a matter of common knowledge that in all nations called “civilized” there are two political parties. By whatever name they may be popularly known, their cause is the same everywhere.

Their formation and existence is due to two types of mind—the conservative and the progressive—the **more** satisfied and the **less** satisfied—the two classes into which human beings are naturally divided.

Between these two groups Nature seems to have made no distinct line of demarcation. Each approaches the other over a wide space in which they intermingle, shade, and blend until at their theoretical meeting they become

one. Within this blending space, within the mind maze of this middle area, a knowledge of party principles evidently has not become clearly evolved, and voters fail to distinguish party differences.

Therefore, as in all our attempts to read the meaning of the facts of life by critical examination we must resort to a somewhat arbitrary segregation or classification, artificial lines must be drawn.

Life may be viewed as a variegated whole, moving into mutually blending groups, undivided by visible lines.

And, although no distinct dividing lines can be found, general marks, that enable investigators to locate groups and to determine the law of their life action, **can** be found.

In order to understand the relative community value of the two parties, their principles, and what the practice of these principles tends to produce, must be fully grasped.

A brief examination of the two parties, therefore, is here proposed, having in view this discovery.

Civilization—**just started**—is now entangled in the agonies of a rapid evolutionary growth.

Because the average voter, within this un-

differentiated mass that is spread over the blending space between the two parties, fails to grasp the principles or ideals of the two parties, fails to understand the difference in the results to which their practices lead, and because he is also emotionally controlled, a great amount of political quackery is able to thrive.

And political quackery **must** thrive till such time as a majority, by understanding the difference in the motives, the actuating principles of the two parties, can see how different in kind must be the products of their legislation.

The party attachments of a voting majority are not determined by a knowledge of party principles. Party ideals have but little to do with the way men vote. This is determined by their **feelings**, by the party preferences of their families, by the way their fathers voted, or it may be due to the way some clever campaign sophist, with his fabrication of half truths and false premises, makes a certain large element **believe**, and in particular to the way his emotional delivery makes them **feel** that they should vote.

The world is filled with great libraries, but

since all of the body of knowledge with which it is so well supplied is not in the minds of men, this knowledge is of comparatively little use. As a rule, the **many** reject theories and learn better ways of life—they form and adopt the use of improved ideals by being **driven** to do so. Most men, before they can do the right thing, must suffer the consequences of doing the wrong thing many times.

Were voters (by having a knowledge in common of the best information available) united in action, instead of being, as they are, divided by a thousand and one conflicting opinions, few of which have much scientific value, continuous and rapid social improvement would be a simple matter.

The two types of mind mentioned form men into conflicting or opposed groups, clubs, societies, churches, and political parties, and they are the two great competitive factors of social and moral evolution,—the later products of the **same** cause that has worked through countless ages to carve out **organic** forms.

Struggle among individuals has an awakening effect; slowly it teaches men wisdom and honesty. The struggle between parties grad-

ually brings knowledge and honesty into community action.

Were we all wise enough to be honest and to do our best voluntarily, two parties would be unnecessary. A united effort to put in practice a progressive conservatism would then rapidly approach an ideal social condition. The use of party alternation is to correct mistakes and to compete for honesty—a need that is due wholly to a great and fundamental lack of wisdom and honesty.

The principles or ideals of the two parties, therefore, must be examined in their fundamental action if we are to see how and why they differ—**why it is** that their practices tend to bring to the community results so very different in kind.

Having this end in view, then, the first question to be asked is: What results do conservative practices bring—to what goal do the ideals of that party in which men place most confidence lead? What is the basic principle, the **main-spring** of conservative party action? Why, by whatever name it may be called, is one of the two parties considered conservative? What does it conserve? In so far as it encourages thrift by protecting

the freedom of honest production it is plainly true to its trust.

Neither men nor nations can progress without retaining their improvements.

Since, also, all changes are considerably experimental, in order to avoid as many mistakes as possible, these changes, before being made, should be carefully considered. This is a legitimate conservatism and is the aim of both parties.

But there are two competing political groups, two parties, and there is an undeniable difference in their action and in the products of their legislation. What and why?

This difference must be due to a difference of motive or tendency.

The dominating proclivity of careful men is to become thrifty, successful, and comfortable. The conserving individual naturally adopts the conservative side in politics—he dislikes change and disturbance, and, to him, conservative party rule means stability—he likes his comfortable habits.

Conservative men and women, therefore, as well as conservative parties, are much more apt to become the mastered victims of their habits than those of the opposite type.

There is in the **progressive** party a large element of the thriftless, dissatisfied, uncomfortable, and prodigal sort. And they join the liberals because they desire to be benefited by change; they protest against the existing condition of things for the reason that they are the victims of its unfairness.

The fact of their being here on this earth, however, has a meaning—it must entitle them to an opportunity to express themselves and to enjoy life as best they may. This they feel. But through the maze of legislative jugglery they fail to see **how**, by monopolies, they have been deprived of this right.

Thriftful persons, as a rule, make much more comfortable friends and citizens than thriftless and complaining radicals, but, as factors of human progress, this latter element is the other side of the shield, or of the question; and, as a factor of progress, this element must have value.

Thrift has concealed within it a tendency to become a habit of miserliness, or to develop into a greedy ambition, hence, it needs watching. Few have learned how to control and use success. Perhaps, not as a rule but often,

success is allowed to become an un-breakable habit of selfishness.

In all the walks of life pleasing experiences call for repetition, the tendency of which is to produce a habit sufficiently strong to master the will. This accomplished, the feelings call for an over-indulgence that brings trouble—such as selfishness, forgetfulness of others, lack of human sympathy, over-eating, and sickness.

The pleasant ways of least resistance wear deep fossilizing habit ruts, mental valleys, in which men and women become lazier, and out of which they must be pulled and kicked by suffering, or remain there and die—they have too little strength, as a rule, to climb out of their own accord.

It is through their continuous success that parties become degenerate, forgetful of the rights of others, selfish, and ambitiously dishonest.

Party success creates a party desire for ever greater power over the affairs of men. When, to secure this end, wealth-producing opportunities have been monopolized by its members, the desire for supremacy intensifies

into an appetite so all-absorbing that satisfaction becomes impossible.

These monopolies produce unchangeableness, a rigidity of structure in politics, economics, and production, a rigidity that tends more and more to resist improvement and to strangle national life. This needs to be understood and watched.

The science and the art of education are but matters of breaking bad, obsolete, out-of-date, or non-progressive habits on the one hand, and on the other, of forming better, constructive, progressive habits. To the extent that this result is accomplished by a given legislative act does this act have value. There is value in law only so far as it checks predation and protects freedom to act in constructive and moral ways.

All acquisitions are legitimate that leave men opportunity and prejudice-free—they are matters of human expression. Change in the way of construction and reconstruction is the way in which Nature moves life into higher forms of expression.

So, if men are to progress, they must learn, and have a chance to break their unfit habits, as well as to form better-fitting ones.

The best use of great wealth has been learned by few men. In their ignorance, wealthy men form bad habits, and also in ignorance they are unable to break them. Wealth, and in a particular way, unjustly acquired wealth, tends to create in the mind of its holders political ambition, and, with no sort of fitness, such aspirants often gain what they desire.

The career of this type is familiar to all. Knowing nothing of the morality of public service, of what constitutes honorable statesmanship, their efforts are devoted entirely to personal gain. In fact, since they believe that this is what they are in office for, they believe also that personal gain may be legitimately secured by any means at hand. They lack the right amount of intelligence.

This type is, as a rule, in the majority among law makers, and it follows that, when laws have been enacted to monopolize the larger part of the means of human subsistence (land) and to control the currency, by a lack of morality as well as of knowledge, they have a consuming ambition to gain control of the daily lives of men and women—to superintend even their personal conduct.

This explains what we find to be the facts of conservative party history, what we find as the results of its legislation—a monopolistic system that has paralyzed production and distribution—a system of ignorance and dishonesty, fixed upon the simple, un-informed minds who trusted it in the belief that its leaders were wise and would act with a fair amount of honesty.

If conservative party principles stimulate its leaders to preserve some good, they also furnish them with a pretext for resisting needed changes, and for the creation and fortification of special privileges. Hence, we have a rigid political structure that resists the demand of progress. As evidence of which there can be seen idleness, strikes, poverty, crime, and other modes of discontent, all indicative of deprivations, of wrong. Our government, though not quite to the extent of older governments, has become an out-of-date machine, prematurely aged.

Conservative parties do much more mischief than progressive parties, for they are more trusted and not so closely watched. They are protected in their mischief by the inert-

ness, the lack of information, and the erroneous beliefs of men.

The financial support of the conservative party comes from the well-to-do, from the minority constituency who are comfortable in the enjoyment of their possessions, and who, as a **matter of course**, are conservative. Since most of what they are enjoying is the income of special privileges, of respectable, time-honored usurpation, they resent changes that threaten to take away any portion of their unjustly acquired holdings, changes that have in view restoration to those to whom these holdings rightly belong.

As we proceed with this essay it will become ever plainer **how** and **why** it is that conservatives and their leaders are able to make themselves believe that their conduct in this betrayal of trust is justifiable.

They are led by favoring circumstances into the belief that they are the superior ones, and consequently to infer that they are hereby the naturally appointed protectors of the many. Having, to start with, some ability, considerable selfishness, and an over-supply of egotism, these proclivities become intensified into colossal proportions through the wealth of others,

which these men have betrayed their trusts to obtain. It is to this, more than to their natural superiority, that their attitude is due. Herein lies the secret of the decay of nations through the survival of the unfit, the back numbers, who prevent moral growth and extinguish nations.

It does not come within the scope of this brief essay to give party histories; these are here unnecessary, for there is abundance of information within easy reach of the reader. Conservative parties have always been farther from impartial representation than liberal parties.

Why, when seen from the viewpoint of wealth production and distribution, conservative parties have always served the few at the expense of the many, is very plain.

It is due to the conservative's good opinion of himself and his party, on the one hand, and to his contempt for the progressive and his party, on the other. The fact that the conservative party is made up of the more prosperous and the better educated leads the conservative to believe that this is due to a superiority which the units of his party do not possess. What men are is largely due to cir-

cumstances, opportunities, means, education—to matters over which they have had little control.

Men thus favored gravitate, as a rule, to the conservative side, and here use these advantages to selfish ends—use them regardless of fairness.

The failure of most individuals of which the conservative party is composed to understand how they happen to be what they are is one of the factors by which the party is led into all sorts of unfair acts of legislation.

The belief that their membership is one of innate superiority once established, there follows a belief that their party, also, is equipped with sufficient superiority to endow it with prerogative rights.

This stage of belief once reached, there is no place to stop, and the way is open for any sort of delusion to creep in and to set up the extreme of unfair party conduct.

If the membership of the conservative party is of a quality sufficiently superior to entitle it to party prerogatives—and the great majority need and should have a party guardian—the conservative party is in this respect equip-

ped by Nature with a **moral** fitness, is endowed with a function which it **must not** neglect. If this is true, as many of its members evidently believe, it is the **duty** of this party to place itself in power by whatever means may seem best to its leaders.

To determine the majority vote, they have not merely a **right**, but it becomes hereby their **duty** to control educational channels through the matter in text books, to control the daily press, the platform, and the pulpit, for, Jesuitically speaking, "the end justifies the means."

This, as a matter of fact, is what, to a large extent, takes place and it explains how it is that the political opinions of the many are formed in such a way as to make them vote to fleece themselves, and how they are made to pay a high price for their false education. The cheap way to purchase votes is through the channels of education.

WHY CONSERVATIVES HOLD A MAJORITY

IT is certainly due to a lack of the right information that in their **feelings**, the majority of men are in sympathy with the conservative party.

This party is composed of two elements, the wealthy or well-to-do, and the unintelligent of those who are poor—the managed. The latter, blinded by their own selfishness, by their meagre and erroneous instruction, fail to recognize their party friends. But, desiring to be on the winning side, to attain this end, they resort to all sorts of connivances but the right one, even to playing the part of the toady. They hope some time to be **pluto-crats**, but they know too little to accomplish the desired result legitimately, and by their own efforts. Hence, lacking self-reliance, they resort to attachments (note the names of children and of businesses.) This class has no initiative. It fears that any change will make matters worse, and, being lazy, it dislikes to be disturbed.

That which determines a man, rich or poor, to play his **party** game of life with the con-

servatives is due very largely to a desire to be on the side that secures wealth, a desire to walk in the comfortable way, to obtain the means to triumph over others, and to be looked upon as a superior. Men of this type lack sympathy, a lack which unquestionably places the individual in a low order of human unfoldment. In such minds there can be comparatively little desire to promote thrift and to extend common justice.

These feelings are rooted in barbarism, in an **old** order of animal naturalness, that time and education will replace with a **higher human and moral** naturalness.

The only way to get rid of greed, "want and the fear of want," is to become so far enlightened as to realize and to act on the realization that there is in the world more than enough for everybody.

In proportion to that which we know do we form correct ideals of conduct. These ideals we approach in practice as fast as we are driven to do so by suffering. The active power behind all conduct—that which operates knowledge, sets up practice, prompts to an effort to reach the ideal—is **feeling**, and **feeling** is the product of **suffering**.

The evils entailed by selfish practices in time teach their folly, and drive man through suffering into sympathy with his neighbor, and to the correction of his errors in thought and conduct.

This is the stage across which the human family is now moving in its unfoldment. Ignorance, the failure of men to perform as well as they know, and the indulgence of selfishness, explain all the turmoils and horrors of today.

Yet it seems evident that all men are at first **unconsciously** impulsed to seek the needs of their educational unfoldment, and that **later** the means of this unfoldment are sought **consciously**. But, while they are crossing the stage of selfishness, their experiences must necessarily be of a drastic nature. Men must be driven by the tortures that inevitably follow error into feeling for others.

Learning to be democratic in feeling, then, is a slow process and the suffering caused by arbitrary conservative rule is one of its greatest promotive factors.

Therefore, (and it is evidently in the great, purposeful scheme of things that it should be so) conservative parties come into control

oftener, remain there longer, and abuse the power given to them more flagrantly by monopolizing most of the wealth of the land, than do those with progressive principles.

Careful search will reveal evidence of purpose in every fact of life, though all of the purpose herein is not at once evident. Discovery is a gradual process.

The fact that the majority of men put greater confidence in conservative than in progressive parties can be explained and easily understood by the well-informed, but, where intelligence is lacking, information is, as a matter of course, useless.

The majority are not well-informed, and, since they will not volunteer to learn, it requires generations of suffering in the school of experience to teach them the rudiments of practical economics. In fact, it requires generations of suffering to teach men anything that takes much mental effort.

Simple as is the matter of discovering which party tends, through the working of its principles, to befriend the many, the latter learn to adopt the right one only by being driven to do so through suffering.

Were voters united in action by the pos-

session in common of the best information available, instead of being divided as they now are by a thousand and one conflicting opinions, few of which have any rational value, reform of all sorts would be a simple matter.

The person so little informed as to subscribe to most popular beliefs in politics, economics, and religion can be made during an exciting campaign or revival to act upon any sort of stupid, foolish suggestion.

When in want and suffering, the many demand a change without knowing what to do to bring about relief. They are moved to action, not by what they know, but by what they feel, and this move in the matter of balloting is nearly as often foolish as wise.

The instinct and the education of the dog is to bite the approaching stranger, to protect his yard, and in so doing, he, being unable to reflect discriminatingly, **may** and he often **does** bite a good friend of the family to which he belongs and a possible friend of his own. And so it is with men who are moved to action by feeling alone.

However, it is this need of the many, driving them in times of desperation into blind

mass-action, that determines much of the legislation of progressive party leaders. It is this need that furnishes this party with a propelling principle that fosters more or less of an endeavor on its part to improve general conditions and to preserve a greater plasticity of political structure, a greater possibility or freedom of improving change; and it is this need that gives it a better chance to displace the ante-dated machine with the improved variety.

Therefore, when the principles of the two parties have been learned, what different results their practices tend to bring! Or better, when, in its educational evolution, the race has reached the stage where a majority of the voting units can **see** and **understand** the working differences, there will come a radical change in which conservative party dominance will abruptly cease.

Thereafter, instead of being used through their thoughtless, emotional, and foolish party attachments to serve the personal ambitions of the party leaders of any party, men will be guided by reason and will act to serve humanity as the larger part of their own welfare.

WHY MEN FEAR PROGRESSIVE PARTY ADMINISTRATION

CONSTITUTIONAL governments change from conservative to progressive administrations only when driven in desperation to do so. And, when the transfer of control has been made, voters know neither what must be done to improve matters nor when, to this end, changes have been made, how much time is need to get the new regime into operation and secure the desired results.

That is, voters, the **employers**, know nothing of what to expect from their employes, those whom they select to make reform moves and to conduct them to a successful termination.

Therefore, the impatient many, looking for improvement to arrive with impossible quickness, resent delay of results as pictured in expectation upon the canvas of their absurd imagination.

It is due to their inertness and simplicity, to their lack of information, that breaks for freedom are delayed by the majority till men are bound hand and foot—and the moment they are ready to cry “enough,” they look for immediate release; they expect the

cure of their physical ills, brought upon themselves by long-time abuses, with the same miraculous quickness.

Hence, the history of progress has been one long and continuous struggle of the drowsy ones to break the shackles they have allowed to be placed upon them by the rule of conservative injustice. Of course the conservative element always leads, but the **injustice** of this "lead" is found in the fact that the many are taught by antidote or torture and are made to pay more for being led and taught than the leadership and education are worth, and thus an injury is done to both parties.

The forward move of progress is through forms of expression, but the old and comparatively useless forms should be replaced by higher ones, by improved varieties, the moment the old have served their purposes.

The preservation of progress has always depended upon, and still depends upon, the efforts of a few unselfish leaders and educators, builders of new ideals—a service paid for, as a rule, in misunderstanding, if not in persecution. The difference between a leader who does **not** care what becomes of the many because he does not know **why** he does not care,

and the one who **does** care because he **knows** **why** he cares and **feels** it, is as great as the difference between total darkness and sunlight.

In every land there are individuals amounting to a small percentage of the entire population who are not insulted by charity, and there are others who see in "tips" no degradation, even when these are taken as a means of subsistence.

But so it is with **appeals** made to different grades of human intelligence. An argument appearing to be sound at one stage of a man's unfoldment is seen to be so ridiculously fallacious at his next higher stage of gained intelligence as to be an insult.

Hence, it is true that the campaign speeches of conservative parties, more than those of progressive parties, are made, less to enlighten the majority, than to prepare them to vote to **fleece** themselves by placing most of their natural opportunities in the hands of monopolists. Yet not over twenty-five per cent of the voting population are sufficiently informed in party history, land monopoly, national finance and economics, to realize that these speeches **are** an insult.

This lack of enlightenment explains why it is that conservative parties are able to hold the confidence of a working majority. The rule is to judge a party by superficial evidence, and of individuals by their external appearances and immediate influence. Besides, men are, for this same reason of short measure, very susceptible to flattery.

Confidence in the conservative party is greatly strengthened by **suggestion** as embodied in its **claim** to preserve to a greater degree than does the progressive party the **existing order** of things, to resist **change**, to stand for **stability**. And since the many have been taught to fear change, this claim and belief is a powerful factor in holding control.

But this conservative claim, even if found to be supported by a few facts, may not be altogether desirable, for, unless the hold of resistance to needed change can be broken by either intelligence or by social upheaval, it strangles national life and leads to the stability of death. Change is the only evidence we have of life.

In a moving equilibrium, in an alive and wide-awake stability, in a bettering change,

are found the true conservatism and the true progressivism.

The central government of a nation should be a moral power of such strength as to elevate the ideals and to stimulate the moral life of the entire nation, an influence that should elevate even its business life. What, for the past fifty years, has been the influence radiating from the city of Washington, our national Capital?

The conservative party undoubtedly **conserves**, but **what** does it conserve? Is it honest? Does it seek and conserve the best? Does it admit and conserve progress? Does it tend to promote intelligence, moral conduct, higher ideals? Does it give justice and increase the sum of human happiness?

On the contrary, do we not find that a very large part of conservative party effort is expended in **creating** and **conserving special privileges**, the property holding of "the haves," at the expense of those who "have not?" And does not this tend to corrupt men by placing a premium on dishonesty? Who pays the taxes? Ascertain before you answer.

But little investigation is required to re-

veal the fact that **conservatives much more than progressives** do monopolize and hold out of use the natural opportunities of the many.

Take no one's word for this, but look up the history of the conservative (Republican) party in our own country during the past fifty years and discover what this party has done to place the land in a few hands. What do you know about this, and what are you going to know?

The less one knows, the more does he believe in and look for miracles, and, since the monopolists are conservatives, the moment their party finds itself in the control of affairs, they have the means to begin performing the "good-times" miracles which their blind, simple, and easily satisfied constituents have been looking for. Monopoly holds the wealth, controls the machinery and media of its production and distribution.

The amount of wealth produced in this country is beyond average comprehension, and the amount that freedom from land monopoly would allow to be produced is utterly beyond the **imagination** of those who look upon a thousand dollars as a fortune. The power of the labor-saving machine to produce belongs to

all, not to a few who hold the means of its application (the land) out of use. With their tremendous monopoly, conservatives can offer to their constituents the insult of paternalism—they can paralyze business with high rents and monopolized currency.

Fatherly party protection is still believed in by many who are not yet well enough informed to realize that it is an insult to human intelligence, that its power over men is due to an attitude of mind that follows from habit of thought and from monopoly as causes. The proper function of a government is to protect the freedom of its units to act productively, not to take away this freedom by monopolizing opportunities.

If I, while acting as your guardian, find that your lack of intelligence enables me to steal your fortune without your being aware of the fact, I can make a great show of doling out to you by means of a job or by charity a meagre subsistence, and I can secure your friendship until you learn the truth.

Until such time as the individual is sufficiently well informed to see that this is a precise parallel of conservative party methods

of operation in all lands, he is not morally entitled to the use of the ballot.

This it is that needs to be understood by all voters. The only protection needed by the many is enlightenment sufficient to give them access to their own natural opportunities and to show them their uses.

This is now denied by our infamous laws of monopoly. Free competition, the thing needed, has never been in operation since the beginning of organized governments.

The process of human awakening, though rapidly increasing, will yet require a long time of monopolistic insult, deprivation, and suffering, before the stage is reached where the ballot will be used intelligently.

The things which, individually, we know too little to do for ourselves must be done for us by others. Prior to a certain age, we are unable to don our own clothes.

In adult life the many opportunities by which we are surrounded but fail to recognize and use must be seen and improved for us by others at a pittance of benefit to ourselves—we must be shown and made jealous before we can act. But so it is with things we might use to make life better worth liv-

ing, things which we fail to utilize for the reason that we do not know enough and are too indolent to learn.

The present poverty-stricken condition of the many is due to a poverty of mind that blinds them to the fact of their own heritage and to the appropriation and prodigal use of this heritage by a few men. The many fail to see **how** and by what legislative chicanery they have been deprived of their natural rights; they fail to see **how** the **opportunities** in which they were once rich beyond their dreams have been taken from them; they fail to see **how** by the same method of usurpation their labor-saving machinery is kept idle, and how the comparatively small amount which monopoly allows to be produced is held beyond their reach by a few trade monopolists, high rents, entombed currency, and a paralyzed distributing system.

If this be true, it may be asked, "Through what means has all this come about?"

It is true, and the way this condition has been brought about is as follows: Through a combination of **design** and lack of information there is in operation in nearly

all schools, both public and private, a conspiracy realized by few against true education and progress.

By neglect and by refusal children have been denied, and they are still being denied, that information to which **every** child has a **right** as inalienable as to that of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

In fact, without this information, true life, liberty, and happiness are impossible. Existing conditions, under which no person is truly happy, conclusively show this.

This lack, or educational perversion, explains why it is that in all lands men have more confidence in conservative than in progressive parties, why conservative parties are so fully trusted, and why they are given time to become corrupt through the appropriation of natural opportunities. It is because of their ignorance that the great body of men look upon their party as a guardian rather than as a servant. And at their own cheap estimate of themselves they are taken and used by the conservative party.

The many consent to remain in ignorance, they take a prescribed education, they listen

to the flattery of those who like to "boss," and they become underlings.

This explains why monopolists look upon themselves as men having an **innate** rather than a **circumstantial** fitness to be the natural guardians of the people, and upon the conservative party as their legitimate instrument of use to serve this end. It explains why conservatives believe that they are the superior class, why they develop a feeling of proprietorship in government, and why they so far resent all liberating movements as to consider them intrusions.

Nature has this attitude of mind in process of correction. All men must gradually awaken to the fact that human life is slowly moving competitively in the direction of a greater intelligence, of individual freedom, of personal consent, of democracy and morality; and, also, that contemporaneously and consequently, it is leaving behind its opposite—monarchy, plutocracy, aristocracy, paternalism, prohibition, coercion, tyranny, espionage, and injustice. This passing will be hastened in proportion to the rate of speed with which intelligence is gained.

There is a growing strength of feeling that

the tyranny of dominant political parties and religions, through their senseless and arbitrary rules of belief, is allowed to remain in operation altogether too long. The doom of these systems should, in the interest of human happiness, have been long since pronounced by common consent. But they are passing.

The meaning and use of this great evolving scheme of life is ever before us. Nature always kills that which she is no longer able to improve with experience, and she uses the pulverized material of her dead bodies to build progressive forms. Because it cannot be taught to live among men without interfering with human rights, the rat is doomed to final extinction. But, for many reasons, it has some time yet to stay, and it is helping us just now to construct ever better buildings.

All these advantages through which men attempt to gain something for nothing, to attain prosperity at the expense of others, to gain legal power over their fellows, are very grave mistakes—rat proclivities. They are advantages that give rise in the minds of those who secure them, in the minds of men

and bodies of men, an over-estimate of themselves.

The bully, the tyrant, the plutocrat, and the monarch are thus all accounted for—and in its final analysis the fruit of legal robbery is some form of half-educated tyrant.

Usurpation creates in the mind of the usurper a false ideal, a feeling that “might is right,” a belief that his blue blood means pure blood, when it really means a lack of exercise and corruption. Being blind to the cause of the advantages he enjoys, blind to the way they were obtained, perhaps, **he** nevertheless believes himself hereby appointed to be the natural leader and director of the affairs of other men. So the usurper becomes in his feelings a plutocrat and has time to think up mischief.

The usurper, as a rule, is led to his downfall through the prodigal use of that which he takes from others. If not to his own downfall, he is led to attempt the enslavement of those whom he despoils. Give to men of this type enough “rope” and they will hang either themselves or someone else. A big, legal thief becomes a big tyrant, if allowed

an opportunity, and a little illegal thief, a coward.

The bulk of wealth of the land is held by men, **prominent** in or **leaders** of the conservative party. There is among them a feeling of comradeship, an affinity tie of honor among those who appropriate.

Their possessions carry with them an influence of glamour over the dispossessed. So, controlling, as they do, that which will insure their succession to control, whenever their flagrant abuse of trust has driven them from office, they are not at all alarmed as to their return to power.

“Distance lends enchantment to the view” is a brief statement of a truth having a very wide application in the affairs of unthinking men and women. That is, **distance**, money, desirable occupation, fine garments, showy surroundings, good reputation, theatrical attire, gaudy colors, artistic gesture, emotional speech, fine manners, assumed dignity, high prices—all these lend a stage effect, a romantic glamour that tends to emotionally subdue the average mind.

Distance, either in time or space, lends enchantment. Hence, green fields, when

viewed from afar, have azure tints and appear to be smooth. Dead men, and men in distant cities, seem wiser than the living or than those who are close at hand.

Why, then, need we wonder at men in office or at men with abundance of means, when, favored by all the laws of the land, they become possessed by the illusion that they are the superior ones of the earth? They are not only tremendously flattered by others, but also by themselves, and they are permitted no time to gain a knowledge of their immoral position among men.

Ground rent collectors, though seldom students, understand the art of getting and holding. They belong, as a rule, to the sporting or semi-sporting order, and their spare time is monopolized in such manner by flatterers that they do not and cannot estimate themselves at their true value. They are social perversions and soon become a menace.

The glamour of life should be corrected in great degree by imagination guided by intelligence. A lack of intelligence explains conditions as we find them. Men are dominated by the stage illusions of life because

they know too little to understand what exists behind the scenes.

Enough voters with no measure, or with a false measure, of conduct and of the other values of life, hold the balance of power and stand ready with their ballots to serve for small consideration almost any selfish, predatory, wholesale scheme of legal, monopolistic thieving or graft which the "bosses" whom they serve may select.

Ignorance makes the purchase price of many men cheap, and keeps the products of human effort and the medium of exchange and distribution—money—in the control of a few ambitious and unscrupulous hands. With this leverage in the form of a system these men can, in order to serve their personal selfishness and their party ends, make times either good or bad; and, if, when out of office, they wish to return to power, they can proceed with a campaign of "squeeze" in order to frighten the border-land rabble back to the conservative camp.

This is a matter well known to the intelligent and it explains why progressive parties are feared by the masses.

The latter have experienced stringency;

they have seen "hard times"; they have seen thousands lose their homes through mortgage foreclosure; they have seen idle men and needy families increase in number; they have seen business go down and rents stay up with immediate consequences in an epidemic of failures and suicides.

They have witnessed all these and many of the other effects accompanying progressive administrations, but **without understanding**.

Being wholly without either enlightening information or the ability to manage more than one idea with a single effort, they fail to see the "why," the **cause** of the effects in which they are submerged, and by which they are blinded and made to suffer.

PROGRESSIVE PARTY HANDICAPS

WHENCE, the progressives come into power when the conservatives or absorptives have appropriated about everything of value in sight, at a time when the most obtuse can see the tremendous need for a political house-cleaning.

When measured by the possibilities offered by educational opportunity, general intelligence is not yet **high** in **any** country. Voters, therefore, are unable to understand the great amount of rubbish that must first be cleared away, the abuses that must be stopped and corrected, and, simultaneously, the tremendous reform-opposing forces, armed with special-privileged wealth, that must be met and defeated before the prosperity machinery of the country can be set up and put in operation.

During progressive administrations the country is always passing through an experience similar to a fever, through what resembles a siege of sickness so evidently brought on by conservative abuses in the way of predations as to admit of no mistake in assigning the cause.

Most recoveries from illness and convalescence require cessation of work. Imagine then the difficulty accompanying the recovery and convalescence of a patient who, while working, takes treatment from two doctors—one trying to cure him, the other trying to prevent a cure.

This, however, parallels very closely the

difficulty with which a progressive political party in its administration is obliged to contend. The conservatives, being largely in control of the money market, can also control the productive and distributive forces—lands, labor, money, and transportation.

Hence, the moment the conservatives are ousted from office, they are able, assisted by the fears of voters, to begin their campaign of return by making men idle and hungry. This is an argument that never fails to bring back into conservative lines men who think as their stomachs feel.

The majority of those who, in their desperation, vote to return governmental control to progressive hands fail to see that they are turning over to this party a commonwealth whose political state of health corresponds very closely to that of an invalid with impeded circulation, with starved tissues, with drugged and disordered functions.

Consequently, if in progressive hands time is taken to cure and convalesce, if prosperity slows down (as it must, instead of suddenly reappearing), resentment is shown by returning at the next election the conservatives to power. The well-known pro-

cedure of this party on return to office is to begin a sudden show of prosperity, to begin to please the simple trinket-loving minds with "good times" chocolate drops that consist of the nimble penny—in exchange for their big, slow dollars.

Reform, under such a condition of the majority mind, is very slow and difficult. A fairly honest foundation is no more than well laid by a liberating rule when it is torn up, cast aside, and one less honest is put in its place. In rationality of reform procedure the process here employed is about equal to the regrafting of an orchard every four years.

Reform administrations are kicked out before they have had time to prepare and to put in operation more than a fraction of the needed changes. Nobody, therefore, ever realizes how much these changes, were they given time in which to work, would do to improve matters.

This party alternation, in which there is much change with little improvement, is due to the fact that the bulk of voting is a combination of feeling and of guess-work.

Given a practical knowledge of economics, a greater amount of political reform could be

secured in eight years than is now gained in fifty—and with less trouble.

KNOWLEDGE OUR FIRST NEED

THE need of the world, then, is Education —Knowledge. And, since the greatest difficulty to be met and overcome is the information needed to **secure the means** to achieve this **educational end**, the one on which the solution of the balance of the educational problem depends, some move to **secure** and place this information in the minds of men should be made the object of first consideration.

Education is now supported by a dishonest system of taxation that secures funds but half sufficient to meet our educational needs. There must be some way to obtain ample means with an honest system.

Nature is not niggardly. There is abundance upon which we may draw in quantity sufficiently great to meet all requirements. And our specific need, in order to discover where this fund is hidden, is to acquire a knowledge of economics.

A knowledge of the science of wealth production and distribution will enable men to realize that the **existence** of a **natural**, automatically-made educational fund is a **fact**, not merely a **dream**. But why this fund is hidden from general view is that it **now** and **always** has been flowing into private pockets, that it is also hidden by the intangibility of its production, by custom, and by familiarity. This source of supply is found in “**ground rent**”, and it is amply sufficient, not only for the education of all races of men, but also for the means to defray **all** of the **expenses** of government.

Ground rent, often called the unearned increment, is a thing most difficult for the majority, with their selfish, autocratic desires, interest-twisted economics, over-worked bodies, self-pity, and eyes befogged by daily-press sophistry, to see.

The first thing, then, of which the majority should become aware, is the existence of this community-earned wealth—to see that it is a **fact**—to recognize the rights of those to whom it **naturally** belongs. The next step taken should be in the direction of the recovery and the return of this rent to its

(morally speaking) rightful owners—to educational and governmental channels of use.

This is a **problem**, and it is one that is not by any means easy to solve, for the booty secured by private holders of rent-bearing land is too enormous to be given up without a tremendous struggle. Ground rent gives to its possessors the means with which to fight a winning battle against those from whom it has been taken. The latter are a great company, strong in possibilities, but feeble in efficiency through lack of intelligence.

However, until such time as ground rent is **recognized**, rescued, and used by those to whom it belongs, used for their enlightenment and alleviation, until the opportunities of men to produce are hereby freed from monopoly, no very high grade of intelligence and happiness can come to any race or nation, for the highest expression of life cannot be secured by each without justice to all.

The access of all men to their natural opportunities, the positive **refusal** of special privileges to any, is demanded by justice and in the interest of progress. To bring about

this condition is a matter of the evolution of intelligence and morality.

The cause of present uncomfortable conditions is found in the human mind, in what men, in their ignorant, dishonest blindness, strive for but do not need. The appropriation of ground rent robs those from whom it is taken and corrupts those who appropriate. Hence, private appropriation and use keep the entire community in an uproar, and **no one** can be truly happy.

While crossing the valley of unfoldment in which the desire to triumph over others is paramount, men and women become broadened sufficiently in sympathy by **suffering** to reach the higher plane of **democracy of feeling**, thus attaining a level that has been reached by comparatively few.

The rule of desire today, then, is that where men and women have the courage and brightness, have "foxy" smartness without the balancing accompaniment of wisdom and honesty, their aspiration is aggressive dominance, is a longing to usurp the natural rights of others, to embarrass their feelings and free action—in a word to be autocratic. The existence of this condition is due to selfish-

ness, and depends not so much upon brains as upon a lack of fellow-feeling.

THE WAY OF MENTAL UNFOLDMENT

IN order to obtain a somewhat more rational explanation of the facts of life as we find them, we are obliged to seek it through a deeper analysis.

It is evident that all life is so impulsed and environed as to be enticed and driven from the involuntary to the voluntary, from blind animal impulse to free human will. From here on in human life the move is toward increase of intelligence, greater justice, higher moral conduct. The higher the life, the more keenly does it rebuke injustice with turmoil and suffering, a fact, the truth of which few come to fully realize.

This process, or the unfolding move of life's program, is now called evolution. Where are we today? What part of the program lies behind us—what part before us? Where on the way are we, and what can be done to hasten the forward

move? Are present discomforts due to a lack of unfoldment, that is, to ignorance? If so, can this lack be supplied by voluntary effort, by the cultivation of intelligence, by education?

In what way does intelligence unfold? Possibly the reader has noted that in lower forms of life animals are attracted by bright colors, particularly by red. The unfoldment of consciousness starts evidently with the contact of mind with matter—it begins with the concrete.

Taking from this point a somewhat long stride in order to abridge time and space, we pause at the place where many have observed the fact that a window filled with pictures attracts more notice from the passing throng than a window filled with books. Why? Does not the picture interest more persons because, through its simplicity of concept, it can be more easily grasped by the mind, because it better meets the feeble, concrete, or totem-pole requirements characteristic of the average mind?

Mental unfoldment is a biological process that consumes countless ages in reaching the voluntary stage of action called human con-

duct. The equipment of the mind is evidently an evolutionary product, an inherited accumulation of concepts. The climb to present gain has been through the concrete—through Nature's symbols. Mental grasp, consciousness, at first of the simplest, gradually increases in complexity.

It is believable, because evident, that in the evolution of the alphabet man must have consumed eons of time trying to express his ideas to others in pictures. The individuals who at first had the ability to make pictures were extremely few.

Progress is an accelerating movement; the time consumed in the evolution of the alphabet through picture making must have been infinitely longer than the time during which the alphabet was used to spell words and write sentences previous to the invention of printing.

Compared with the evolution of the alphabet, the art of printing by movable type is a thing of yesterday. The increasing complexity of printed matter is a much more rapid process than the unfoldment of the great majority of human minds to **grasp**

this complexity, for the **few** improve much more rapidly than the **many**.

Hence, most persons like pictures much better than books, since the picture is simple in concept, and the **love** of the picture is an **ingrained** heritage. Comparatively few minds have reached the point where they can grasp and hold with any high degree of comfort the greater complexities and abstractions of the printed page. Sufficient time has not elapsed since the invention of printing for this unfoldment to occur.

In a book, that which makes it seem heavy and tiresome is that which is not understood. Most of the mystery is concealed in unfamiliar words and in abstractions. Nearly all of **abstract** thought escapes the understanding of most readers, since they depend largely on the concrete, tangible illustration. Books are at best but imperfectly grasped, and by piecemeal, not as a whole.

The best books, therefore, withhold from the **less** intelligent much of that which they give to the **more** intelligent. The book that seems heavy to one seems light to another. Readers become tired, not so much because

they lack **mental energy** as because they lack information, intelligence, **discernment**.

In the order of evolution, the average mind has just passed from mythology to modern fiction and to moving pictures. This move is almost involuntary, but here it will gain strength to reach the age of reason, develop an interest in **cause**, awaken a taste for science and philosophy, for matter requiring more intelligence, greater mental power.

The difficulty experienced by the average person in seeing ground rent, in recognizing by whom this value is made, to whom it belongs, and the trouble to which its present use leads, is due to its being an abstraction, a concept beyond the average mental grasp.

The importance, then, of grouping the elements of education around tangible illustration is obvious. Consciousness must be aroused through the instrumentality of the concrete—through contact.

The educational awakening of the world takes place through specialized objects of sense, through totem-poles, pictures, symbols, flags, banners, streamers, badges, medals, mythology, stories, sensation, brass bands,

rag-time, the stage, the circus, Santa Claus, Mother Goose, through family, religious and political turmoil, through graft, fakes, tips, charities, and prisons, through group conflict, snobs, tyrants, the sensuous and sensational in religion, the Billy Sundays.

The evolution of a higher consciousness, the conception that life has a moral end in view—a day of **justice** and **democracy of feeling**—is a slow process. Nature produces society by molding the individual.

FURTHER ANALYSIS

TO the extent to which their cause is clearly understood, to the degree that the way of their arrival, how they came to be here, is understood—to this extent only can we correctly infer the meaning of the facts of this every-day life.

So, to add somewhat more to what has already been said in regard to the upward move of life, to the emergence of animal life from the plant, and of human life from the life of the animal, the reader is invited to in-

quire of himself whether the fact that a dog can be caused to gain a good or a bad opinion of himself by praise or blame may have any meaning in the scheme of mental evolution. Watch the evidence of the dog's belief in his importance as he barks savagely at a street car.

Holding this in mind, observe the boy. Note the pleasure he obtains from his trumpet and his drum. Watch the Salvation Army with its blare, its noise, its color, and its show of importance in strength of numbers and of union. Opportunities for observing these same things in men and in bodies of men are unlimited.

This good opinion of himself, this belief that he is doing something very wonderful, this desire to attract attention and praise, to shake himself before an audience and say, "Watch me!" was evidently implanted in the individual to lure him onward and upward.

Hence the pathway of man's unfoldment, or his increase of consciousness, is from the more vulgar and noisy to the less vulgar and quiet human type, from the tyrant to the tolerant, from injustice to justice, from im-

morality to morality, from love of war to love of peace.

The way to determine values is through some instrument or principle of measurement. What is of value in character, in motives, and in conduct is best determined by a knowledge of evolution. Evolution furnishes the best-known key to the interpretation of the facts of life.

In order, then, to detect and to separate the more vulgar, less evolved, brought-along-from-a-past-age tendencies and habits from his every-day life, from his politics, his economics, his religion, and his character, while simultaneously cultivating the new and progressive, the student needs to equip himself with a thorough knowledge of evolution.

Mind, in the early stages of its unfoldment, is attracted by and is pleased with noise, with rough, harsh, heavy, discordant sounds, and with bright colors.

Man, during his tribal passing, puts feathers in his hair, a ring in his nose. Later, for stimulation, and for support of his dignity, he spices his foods, drinks strong liquors, desires to take chances, gambles, lies, thieves, brags, is moved by martial music, and in his

most active operations is inspired by feelings of revenge and hatred.

The animal man has a strong passion for war, an appetite for blood, slaughter, and carnage,—for these he considers highest among manly qualities. And we are obliged to **suspect** at least that all this infernal stupidity is retained in involuntary action, because it may still have some educational value. Vermin are conducive to cleanliness and will disappear as rapidly as the need for their presence is removed.

Men of dull conscience and feeling are attracted by glamour of surroundings. It seems necessary that they be enmeshed and held spell-bound while they are given a needed awakening shock by an experience of great suffering. Society obtains the same thing in about the same way.

Though these experiences do not seem to be confined to those by whom they are needed, this may be all in the seeming.

What we call civilized warfare is but evolved savagery—a cultivated barbarism of larger proportions, an evidence of early-age, left-over primitive man. A particularly dangerous type still persists among leaders of

men—the tyrant type, a type that the more highly evolved must be tortured into understanding in order to eliminate them from places of national influence.

In evidence of primitiveness can be heard everywhere the stupid arguments of the fighting element, arguments that tend to arouse the martial spirit, preparation, and by what inevitably follows—war and slaughter. Also, through it all, we behold the psychology of crowds, a hypnotised condition of mind. In evidence is the assumption of great dignity by those engaged as leaders, the pride of uniform, the strut, the staginess, the quick suppression of rational or sane utterances or protests, insults to civilians. All of these manifestations can plainly be observed by a truly civilized person, a rational being, and by him they are seen to be pitifully ridiculous. They are remnants of the dark ages still existent among us; they are night-mares, epidemic delusions, hypnotic spells, “Big Indians” with feathers in their hair and rings in their noses.

Men can **feel**, but, until they are sufficiently well enlightened to be **rational** beings, until they can **reason**, think, and act with sanity, they must at frequent intervals be made to

take on the war spirit and to lust for slaughter.

How long will it be before the world is sufficiently enlightened to see that progress, the interest of the many, is toward democracy, to see that **dishonesty does not pay**, to be wise enough to rid itself of delusions that lead to such an idiotic and criminal performance as war?

IS THERE A BETTER WAY?

IN seeking a remedy for present ills, existing facts must be accounted for. Why **are things as they are?** Is all this ferment, injustice, suffering, and crime an error of creation? Is it a **human** mistake? **Is it a mistake at all?** Can we not find herein a great serving purpose?

But, on the other hand, is this wreck-strewn pathway along which men and nations are now fighting their way forward the **only** way? Do we need so much of this shock embraced in the compulsory education

of experience? Can not a voluntary move forward be made the means of securing much quicker and better results?

Is what we **are** a matter of **fate**, or have we some **choice** of **ways** to **go**, of **men** to **be**, and of **things** to **have**? There is either some freedom of action in the human will, or education is an impossibility—a delusion.

Is not this program of life, though presenting to our view a tremendous variety of ways and means to reach ideal ends, in the main awaiting our move to select and to use for these ends?

In other words, is not the sphere of action now determined by the human will, though slowly increasing in size, to date but a small one? And are not the larger moves, like war, political moves, most individual acts, determined by life's involuntary impulse—a hidden hand of some sort?

So far, the unfoldment of human life seems to be largely an involuntary process, a move in which, by suffering the consequences of error, men are driven into voluntary action, into intelligent conduct of life, into a move of conscious direction.

It is through the consequences of error,

suffering, that human intelligence is awakened, that men are made to think, that their will is shocked into free action, that their **understanding** is awakened to Nature's **intent**. All this, evidently, is, to prepare human beings to control their own destinies, to be **responsible** beings.

The program of life is one of education. Men must be **honest**, but they must also be **wise**, because in the conduct of life more harm is done by ignorance than by dishonesty.

Men do conscious wrong who are either unconscious of the natural penalty attached, or, if they realize the penalty, they believe it can be avoided, shirked. If they do not think thus, they have concluded to pay all costs and penalties in order to gratify present desire.

The confusion of today is due to the error of dishonesty caused by ignorance. The majority of men feel democracy for others, but they feel **plutocracy** for themselves.

There is a great, a **world-desire**, to taste the **sweetness** experienced by all small minds from "bossing"—from triumphing over others, and from witnessing their discomfiture and suffering.

To appear well, to loom as large as possible in the eyes of others, by means right or wrong, is the ambitious lure of vulgar types of mind. Vulgarities live and thrive on the flattery of applause.

There is nothing wrong either with ambition or with self-esteem except in the selfish, predatory use thereof.

The effort of Nature to teach us to segregate our conduct into the good and the bad, into moral and immoral, into the altruistic and the predatory, in order that we may adopt the use of the first and discard that of the second, offers a very satisfactory explanation of the "why" of this tumult of life.

The line that divides the two classes of conduct gradually becomes distinctly apparent to him who is equipped with right motives, with information and right feeling.

With wisdom comes honesty of purpose, good will toward all men, morality and democracy educated into feeling with harmony in life and in action. Acts are determined by ideals, and when ideals are low, acts are lower.

Man, in his early stages of awakening to a desire, to be something more than the

average, believes that his own elevation must be sought quite as much by pulling others down as by using legitimate means to climb above them.

The pre-moral stage of man's ambition is to become an aristocrat or autocrat, and, in achieving this end, he sees but little difference between **being** superior to other men in actuality and **appearing** to be superior, because he is not yet wise enough to be rid of his vanity, egotism, envy, jealousy, intolerance, selfishness, and revengefulness. Hence, most men are tyrants whenever an opportunity offers.

In Europe the tyrannical or war element has secured a dominance so complete that few dare or even **feel** to speak of anything but military matters.

In the unfoldment of ideals all of the races of earth are yet young. It is noticeable that the **young** usually dislike **work** and that, as a rule, they shirk whatever and wherever they can. They not only dislike continuous and constructive effort, but labor to them is humiliating.

The first evidence they show of the effects of civilized life and of budding puberty is

clean hands and clean cuffs. Equipped with these, youth prefers to look on while others perform. More often than not the work that youth should do is executed by the father or the mother. In shirking and shifting labor to another, youth experiences a feeling of triumph, especially if given an opportunity to "boss."

"Bossing" soothes the sense of vanity and is much more satisfactory when performed in the presence of an audience. If a sweetheart, another barbarian, whose heart swells with pride at the sight, happens to be among the onlookers, the performer's sense of pleasure reaches the limit of his emotion.

Youth also desires to secure things with which to "show off" among associates and neighbors. The latter are in feeling and in desire in sympathy with its motives, and enjoyment is augmented through evidences of their envy and jealousy.

The young must have something to meet the requirements of this "Big Indian" type to which they, mentally and emotionally, belong. They must have a delightful sensation of importance and superiority or of

neighborhood triumph. In other words, they must "put modern feathers in their hair."

Men of small caliber derive great pleasure from a position of command. They dearly love to give orders. Even if it be but a momentary holding, the opportunity to "boss" may prove the one sweet chance of a lifetime, a short space of authority in which to tyrannize over mental and moral superiors, whom, for this very reason, small men hate. Again, it is a matter of "feathers in the hair."

The above is set forth in order to place before the reader the average of human aspiration, to show what the present world-desire stands for, to point out its place of arrival, and to exhibit, through its bad fruits of conduct, the need and possibility of revision by means of educational improvement.

For, so long as men remain unintelligent, they will desire and seek opportunities to "show off," triumph over, humiliate, command, compel obedience, and to enjoy that suffering which they pretend to deplore.

So long as this is the prevailing mental condition and feeling there can be no true democracy, for, competition will be strangled

by monopoly, followed by its inevitable products of graft, tips, poverty, failures, suicides, charity, crime, prisons, snobs, pretense, and war, accompanied by a million and one well-meaning simple heads trying to reform matters by doctoring the effects with law and prohibitions.

The thing most needed is freedom, the freedom that intelligence and honesty give. If men **are free** to think and to act, education is a possibility. If they can change, they can improve. If they can improve by **involuntary** effort (and, if we know **anything**, we know that they **have** and **can**) they can improve much faster by **voluntary** effort, and hereby rapidly diminish the discords and discomforts of life.

Since enlightenment is the thing of most importance in the world, a special, world-wide educational campaign waged against ignorance should be possible—a campaign started by the founders of this republic, but not yet sufficiently well understood to be appreciated, improved upon, and used to remove the “feathers from the hair,” and to usher in a greater harmony of life.

Warfare between nations is due to re-

movable causes. Most men at the head of affairs are not far evolved beyond the masses and are, therefore, not the wisest among men, while others, the on-lookers, bewildered by the glamour of executive position, give to their leaders credit for more than they know and more than they are worth. The dignities that blind leaders of men **feel** they **must** support are much more **personal** than **national**. Books, befogged by time, fear, sentiment, parenthetical tangles, and redundancy have a like effect upon uninformed minds—books seem to be profound if they cannot be understood.

In spite of what the false ideals of many men lead them to believe, those who willingly engage in or consent to the slaughter of others are men far from being large in wisdom. It is simply a matter of a few small men, in the green fields of the distance, appearing to be large to many men who are still smaller. But it is in the evolving law that still greater men beyond the popular ken are increasing in numbers, men that increase of general knowledge will bring into view who now stand watching the spec-

tacular play, the pyrotechnics of ignorance, greed, cunning, and insanity.

Admiration of the German Kaiser, an admiration evinced by many of his enemies, can be accounted for in no way except through the existence of low ideals. Irrespective of the position an individual may occupy in the eyes of the world, the cherishing of revengeful hatred characterizes his mind as a small and barbarous one, and—it always acts as a boomerang.

Hence, it is evident that tremendous need exists for the elevation of human ideals through educational means.

It is, however, one thing to see an undesirable social condition, another to see the **cause**, and quite another to remove it. To see the effects of disease is a simple matter, but its diagnosis and treatment may be a very difficult one. To see an opportunity or a possibility is much easier than the development—this involves thought and practice. To visualize is not to realize, for the first is theory alone, and the second, theory in **practice**. The first is a gold mine discovered, and the second is one in productive operation.

It is, also, one thing to see that a man is small, and another to reveal the facts to others, while the impossible thing, as a rule, is to pierce his egotism and to make him large, particularly if he occupies a prominent place in the eyes of men and belongs to the domineering type.

THE "BOSSY" TYPE AS A CAUSE

IN the indulgence of its lower manifestations the reader may have noted that when the "bossy" type of mind can obtain nothing else upon which to exercise its proclivities—it buys a dog. It is always fond of dogs because of their submissiveness—a trait that in dogs is commonly called faithfulness.

But the dog must obey. So long as he obeys, so long as he assumes an attitude of great humiliation, wags his tail, crouches and cringes in humble, prayerful acknowledgment of the superiority of his master, and takes his thrashing thankfully, so long is he beloved, petted, defended, and cared for.

Really and truly, however, is not this because the dog is an unreasoning fool? Cats do not humble themselves, nor are they obedient. The cat and the suffragette are the two particular aversions of the "bossy," undemocratic, tyrannical type of man.


Change conceals the secret of improvement, yet, when it threatens to break up comfortable habits and special privileges, it is usually resented in a very marked way.

This adds to the difficulty which the "bossy" type of man naturally finds in admitting the claims of the suffragette. But the suffragette heralds a new day; she represents a larger measure of progress; she ushers in one more factor of the democracy of feeling; she represents an onward movement of growing freedom that the "bossy" type is powerless to stay, and before which it cannot stand. It will take time, but progress declares that the loves of the tyrant, one by one, are doomed.

True dignity is simple. It is the product of wisdom, and it does not need to protect itself with assumptions, with pretense and declarations of war. The proof of its worth

is found in its practices, particularly in the democracy of feeling, of justice, of universal brotherhood.

SMALL GREATNESS—ITS USE

 NCE more—the small man seems to be large to the man still smaller. That which a man conceives to be great depends upon his own conception of greatness—upon his own size. Greatness is purely relative. There is a large element of greatness in physical courage. There is budding greatness in self-esteem, and even in egotism. These represent growth, a desire to be something better.

Yet men thus characterized cannot be considered to have reached an elevation of high mental outlook, that is, when measured by the higher ideals of wisdom and moral courage. They have not yet become either wise or great. Wise men have never been tyrants, they do not abuse their freedom to act, nor do they take advantage of generosity. The

wise man believes in justice and strives for it, desiring that others may be happy. He realizes that men require leaders, but he has no ambition to dominate and coerce.

We have reason to suspect, then, that aggressive, "bossy" men—men with rough, coarse, brutal courage, men who believe themselves naturally selected or providentially appointed to care for the many at the expense of their freedom, and of the larger part of their earnings,—may be instruments serving a higher purpose than either **they** or **others** know, a purpose that the higher type could **not** serve.

For, does not the domineering, aggressive man give men of lesser size the foolish, drastic experiences which are needed at certain stages of unfoldment? Does not this also explain why men of the "bossy" type accept of the hero worship offered as theirs by right of their own merit? Does it not also explain why they believe that it is tendered by blind, involuntary mass wisdom instead of, as is actually the case, by blind mass ignorance?

It must not be forgotten that there is an argument for things as they are—one in

which there is undoubtedly deeper wisdom than we know. In injustice and what it brings in suffering there may be—nay, there **must** be—concealed beyond human vision a deeper wisdom and a larger conception of the justice of things. Else, why its persistence?

The careful observer has learned that it matters little what a man desires to do, for, if he is ingenious in argument, he can, in any circumstance, convince himself that his desired conduct is either justifiable or admissible.

There are many reasons for thinking that the criminal of deepest dye thinks out for himself a defense of his crime that he is seldom able to express in words—a defense that, when referred to the heart of things, to the court of a larger wisdom and deeper justice, may obtain **some** credit.

Hence, exploiters, monopolists, would-be guardians of men, and warriors may have in defense of their theories and of their conduct a larger element of right than **we** realize, if not as much as **they** believe they have.

The existence of the exploiter of men as well as his doubtful-looking conduct are plain

facts. But the "why" challenges an explanation.

These men come equipped with courage, energy, selfishness, and ambition to coerce and to rule others. Often they appear with moral obtuseness and with utter contempt for the natural rights of their fellows while proclaiming the reverse. Why?

In things as they are, there is evidence of a larger purpose than any yet known to man. What this purpose is, is still in the main an enigma.

It is evident that the "bossy" type of man, when he awakens to his opportunities on this globe, finds it peopled by foolish minds, which he is impelled, through his ambition, to manage. He, therefore, proceeds to assist them in their foolishness, a part of which is to retain them in ignorance, poverty, and in suffering, and to direct them as they fight and kill each other. Why? Must they not fight and think their own way into individuality and freedom?

It is further evident that when the turn of the political tide brings back a wave of democracy and an effort is made by a new administration to restore to the many some of

their natural rights, the conservative element composed of this legal-right, wealth-controlling protectorate always proceeds to make trouble with "hard times" in order to recover control.

Why is it that voters are so blind to their larger interests as to restore a party, so plainly unworthy of trust, to power at the first opportunity—to elect into office the masters by whom they have heretofore been betrayed and despoiled?

At a certain not very high stage of human development, the warrior and the political stage of mind, there is nothing in the world that seems sweeter than an opportunity to "boss."

This is the goal, or it seems to be the goal, where the individual is **entitled** to wear, and he usually **does** wear, a sixteen-inch collar, a sixty-four inch waistcoat, and a number six hat. He is the admired of the populace, the blustering, dearly-beloved of the people—their "boss."

Why should this be so when there are so many sources of information in the world from which to construct higher ideals? Why? Is there no way in which man can be moved

to throw off the slavery of ignorance except by flagellation, starvation, and suffering?

Ideas, the phantom forms of mental structures, are made tangible by verbal expression, by words.

But, because this equipment of thought and expression has been acquired by the few only, the average man is but a feeble reasoner. He can, therefore, be led to believe in and to act upon almost any sort of political, economic, or religious scheme of foolishness constructed and set up by a clever sophist. He is managed through his feelings because he is unable to manage himself through his reason. That he has consented to remain in ignorance is evident, but why this consent?

It is easily verified that when men reason they are not satisfied with sophistry, nor are they controlled by their emotions, and, in the larger sense, it can be seen that war in these circumstances will be no longer possible. But we are still unsatisfied, we are still inclined to wonder **why** we are so long in **learning**, and why information so **offends** us.

Why? Is it not that we are not yet awakened to our own possibilities and needs, that we are not yet conscious of our own power and of the opportunities for its exercise?

Does this negative element, in which most of us belong, deserve better treatment until such time as, under the natural law of unfoldment, it shall awaken to the importance of enlightenment and mastery of surroundings?

Does not official abuse, ignorance, and tyranny over bodies of men carve out of the aggregate a valuable mass-acting knowledge? Does it not sting and torture into action a power, an efficiency, a body of character that can be builded and brought into action in no other way? Do not the majority of men yet feel uncomfortable without "feathers in their hair"?

It is very plain that men can be filled with the war thrill, mobilized, and made to slaughter other men against whom they can not have the least complaint only because they do not know enough for united self-protection. The wrongs to right which they are being slaughtered are non-existent,

excepting in their empty heads. Why do they do this?

The "why" is simply explained. Feeling triumphs over reason. Ideals are wrong, the products of a meagre and false education—of one that does not enlighten. Men are, therefore, imbued with a feeling of plutocracy.

Progress is democratic, and progress will finally have its way, even though it is obliged to make men wade through blood to carry out its program. Suffering is the inevitable following of wrong conduct.

Ignoring national lines, the human family may, for convenience of treatment, be loosely divided into two classes upon the basis of "feeling"—immoral and moral, predatory and non-predatory. The world being yet young, the predatory and the would-be predatory classes combined are still much the larger in numbers and they are the ones from which the non-predatory class is being slowly evolved. The dominant characteristic of the first mentioned class is selfishness, manifesting itself in a desire to monopolize all the wealth, to triumph over others, and to treat them as underlings.

Progress in moving men forward into unselfishness must be continuously breaking up the old forms made by their selfishness. This process brings fight, war, and suffering. All petrifactive dogma, all un-democracy, all selfishness, hate, and injustice must be gradually crushed under the competitive wheel of progress. And the greater the attempt to stop this move toward democracy and freedom, the greater will be the turmoils of life and the bloodier will be the wars waged to destroy old forms. Not **more** law, but **less** law, is our need.

ON WHICH SIDE ARE THE MAJORITY?

WHAT, then, is the matter? What do the experiences of your life teach you concerning the average aspiration, concerning the ideals of the majority? Examine yourself if you please. What is your leading ambition? How many can go forward enthusiastically and honestly achieving without the spur of envy and jealousy? How many do you suppose have learned the art

of gradually eradicating these ignoble traits from their feelings?

In which of the two classes constituting the subject matter of this essay do you think the majority are placed by their feelings?

This age is calling for more men of understanding, of moral stamina, of reliable conduct of life.

What would most men and women do with a million dollars if they had it? Would they not build for themselves a showy, vulgar, uncomfortable home and equip it to entertain a crowd of simpletons, so that they, their wives and children, might, by "showing off," create envy and jealousy in the minds of their relatives and little neighbors?

How many men do you suppose, if they had the means, would support on the sly another woman, as we know many wealthy men do, when their wives begin to fade? How many women would be honest were they not obliged to be honest?

It is possible for all men to be rich in the sense of having all they could possibly use. Why are they not? Can they ever be rich in this sense. Do they **deserve** to be, till such

time as they are sufficiently unfolded in wisdom and the fellow-feeling that brings moral conduct, to not abuse the use of wealth?

At this time, when the world is so much in need of strong, moral men, what, do you think, would the average man do with authority if he had it? Would he show himself to be a bully by using it in an arbitrary and tyrannical manner? What does the average man with an opportunity to take advantage of others, what with a place of trust, either public or private? What happens when men are fully trusted? Why must every business be expensively safeguarded against employes and the public?

There are two very evident benefits to be derived from self control, the first of which is to strengthen the will and the second to cultivate the old, tribal, animal man into one of a higher order, one capable of living among civilized men and women in a community of a dense population where moral conduct becomes necessary.

How many, then, have reached the place where the old order in themselves can withstand temptation? The current opinion is that most men have a purchase price rang-

ing from about ten cents to a million dollars. The general belief is, not without good reason, that comparatively few are above purchase.

Very evidently, most men with an opportunity become grafters and the smaller "fry" take tips with little or no consciousness of their degrading effect, while they will lie with little or no provocation.

There are few who have reached that place where they can take the mishaps and discipline of life philosophically, and, while being misunderstood, work cheerfully on without whining, and without shedding tears of self-pity, at the same time doing their best to spread some light around them.

Notwithstanding the fact that it is impossible for us to understand others, or even ourselves, few take kindly to being misunderstood.

Progress is slow and the turmoil great because few realize that universal reliability alone can hasten the process of increasing happiness.

The understanding of the social **unit** must be reached, for the solution of the social prob-

lem depends on trustworthiness and individual responsibility.

Everybody must sometimes come to understand, and **practically**, the importance of his own personal honesty, must come to realize that perfect and universal trustworthiness would do away with locks and keys, with bolts and bars, with police and prisons, with laws and courts, with poverty and charity, and gradually with sickness. Most of the expense of living is due to dishonesty. Men cannot be driven and punished into honesty, they must be educated and enticed thereto.

The one great social need is the enlightenment of the individual.

Labor unions and other organizations have value in-so-far as they promote the trustworthiness of the individual; they are wrong in-so-far as they cultivate class hatred. These unions may be indispensable factors of growth. But are they not the long road to results that can be reached by a shorter route? Why not work with the individual whose wisdom and honesty needs to be enlarged upon and whose individuality thus becomes ever more pronounced?

The moment any person sees the meaning

of honest conduct, he no longer waits to be whipped into the practice of that trustworthiness which must be in operation among men ere the transcendent era of happiness which men feel must come, can be ushered in.

In the facts of life are concealed layer after layer of revelation that come breaking in upon the understanding with the unfoldment of consciousness—this process can be hastened and insight gained by study, observation, and reflection.

In the facts of Nature, also in books, the greatest things are not generally understood.

Spread before us in the facts of life are our past history and an outline of our future possibilities—or, we may say, that herein are the factors of prevision.

The evolutionary factors now at work in our daily life reveal to the prepared mind an aim to effect very great changes in human betterment.

But, it is also plain that the procedure, in carrying into effect this evolutionary program, **can** be and is delayed by selfishness.

Is not our greatest need, then, an educational one, a broader knowledge of the

facts of life, trained ability to read their meaning, a higher degree of rationality among men, a greater ability in the use of inference, in the increase of scientific acumen, of philosophical insight, an energy of mind that tires less quickly in its search for cause?

Evidently, the greatest need is awakening. Do not most men fail to do something either because they know nothing to do, or because they are prevented by **monopoly** from applying what they know?

Were all men and women sufficiently wise to be perfectly trustworthy they would all be rich and happy.

Just at this time of rapid and destructive change, there is great need for efforts to effect reconstruction—efforts to use old material to build anew and better. The world in these efforts should use its larger men and women, for progress is now trying to rid itself of its enemies.

Men, who **should** listen, have failed to listen to the demands of progress. The present destruction of that which should be **preserved** with that which should be **cast aside** is the result of strenuous effort to

preserve the existing order of things—the product of selfish seizures and holdings.

Progress rebukes conservative selfishness, by turning it into anarchy, into self destruction. The over-conservative becomes the most dangerous iconoclast. While, on the other hand, the progressive, the democrat, or democratic principle, by casting aside the obsolete, by leaving worthless forms behind it, becomes the true conservative by preserving and carrying forward all that is of value in progress. The war in Europe is the anarchy of conservatism, caused by the retention of obsolete forms of government and of men with ideals of a dead past to manage them.

Nature will have her way of moral progress and democracy, but, in order to achieve this, she is often obliged to wade through blood and ruin.

Is it not a fact that with Nature's rebellion, this destruction of the obsolete, our present little civilization is dangerously ill, and that the patient, if saved, must have the care of a great army of wise doctors and nurses enlisted on the side of reconstruction, of morality, democracy, and freedom, or, in a word, on the side of progress?

Intelligence can help; ignorance and selfishness can and will hinder. The question is, what do we want? Do we desire that the world shall pass through another dark age, a thousand years of military rule and human slavery? Or, do we desire justice, freedom, democracy, and happiness?

What our forefathers fought for in this country is threatened with extinction by the trend of events. Have we not lost sight of what they passed through great suffering to enable them to see—the curse of autocracy, the devilishness of a military and religious rule? What are you doing about it? No person is powerless. You can do something.

In Europe a great, iconoclastic drama is being enacted. Do you look upon the responsible leaders as great men?

If so, take another look, and they may appear to be selfish children or very small men, absorbed by a game of chess; and so blinding is the dust and their selfishness, so deafening the din of battle, that they are almost certain to be consumed by the flames reaching to devour them—and the innocent, evidently, must go with the guilty, the penalty being always paid by the individual as well as

by society for refusing to use factors of prevention, or of reconstructive growth.

ONLY ONE PROBLEM TO SOLVE

HAVE we any choice of ways to go, of men to be and of things to possess? If so, free will is a fact, education a possibility, and for this purpose there is abundance of acquired knowledge in the world, stored in books that would, if used, serve to double general intelligence.

But, this knowledge, tangled up by involved expression and hidden in ponderous volumes, high priced and agent-exploited, is inaccessible to the majority.

Nor is this all, in the matter of economics, wealth production and distribution, there is false instruction in our public schools, kept there by selfish private interests working through politics.

This is what deprives the public schools of their natural means of abundant support—education is robbed and defeated by selfishness.

It is a mistake to suppose that the world has many problems to solve—it has but **one**—the one of ignorance.

To most persons there appear to be many problems to solve, only because they take the many **bad effects** of ignorant selfish conduct which they see in operation to be **causes**. Remove ignorance, the **cause** of these bad effects, in other words, **enlighten**, and they will forever disappear.

The world-stage is strewn with the wreckage of campaigns of ignorance and selfishness, but history records no united effort, no crusade, against the **world's greatest enemy**—Ignorance.

There is nothing the matter with the world, except that it does **not know**, and, that it lacks the “awakeness” and the energy to learn—it acts like something young, adolescent.

The world, evidently, has not yet learned that warfare solves no problems but that it is merely an attention-arresting disease, an effect of injustice—the **cause** of which is **ignorance**.

The problem-solving-move needed is one that will popularize intelligence-gaining, one that

will **awaken** men and women, one that will make **readers, thinkers,** and reasoners—rational beings—a campaign made to **arouse** and to **enthuse**, one to create an interest in the cultivation of a higher code of ethics, higher ideals.

If an economic system handicaps education, it is the enemy of all human beings, even of those who **believe** that they are **hereby** benefited; for, such an economic system, being the enemy of progress, **must** prevent happiness.

In a land of plenty, under a system that makes beggars and criminals, it is impossible for even the millionaire to be truly happy; it is but slowly, however, that men of great wealth can come to realize this fact—this realization comes only through suffering the consequences of dishonesty.

But, understanding will come, for, if progress has not already reached that place where millions of dollars fail to protect their owners from the disastrous consequences of autocracy and dishonesty, it is rapidly approaching that place, or condition.

This problem of ignorance must be solved, internationally as well as nationally. Should

the present European struggle leave all the nations engaged, and all of the multi-millionaires who imagine they are now growing richer hereby, bankrupt, what a tremendous lesson it would teach the world in social, political, and economic honesty.

In any country where **patriotism** means **loyalty** to an unjust system, to a system that is **disloyal** to the majority of the **patriots**, there will always be increasing trouble, gradual national decay, and at no distant day, as in all the ages of the past, there will come national extinction.

Struggling with the great opposition of human selfishness due to ignorance, **Evolution**, evidently, is endeavoring to carve out a moral social system, one in which men and women can obtain a much larger measure of justice and happiness.

This struggle is trying to make us understand, you and I; it needs our help, yours and mine; it is trying to torture us into self control, in order that we may arrive at a mutual understanding.

Volumes containing most needed information, of a pocket size, cheap in price, simply, clearly, and concisely expressed, can be made

a very great help in the interest of a social health campaign.

Could millions of such volumes be circulated, with the assistance of all those who **might** help to stimulate their reading and discussion, a tremendous change for the better would take place in a very few years.

You are approaching the end of this volume. When through, ask yourself if your time and money has been well used—make an **honest** inquiry, for you cannot afford to deceive either yourself or others.

So far as the writer is concerned you can speak your mind freely. He **prefers** that you do so, for he has never been anybody's pet, can stand a very large measure of truth, is not easily offended, cherishes no revengeful hatreds, is profiting by neither graft nor monopoly, belongs to no "bunch," club, or church, has no family padlock on his brain, and is **willing**, even **anxious**, to learn.

To a reader, the value of a book can be safely estimated by the extent to which it informs and sets up constructive mental action.

The book that avoids surfeiting detail, gives

its reader time and inspiration to think out and discover by inference much that has been left unwritten, renders the best of service.

It is very probable, however, that in no **instance**, has the reading of a book ever given **perfect** satisfaction—the book lacks something—so does the **reader**.

Hence, **equally true** does this **incompleteness** of satisfaction hold in every other experience of life, but it is followed, however, in nearly all cases, by a new desire, or object of pursuit. This is the way we are enticed forward in the interest of individual and social progress.

Thus is explained **why** that which we desire to achieve seems so important in anticipation and shrinks so perceptibly when realized—we anticipate in ignorance, we realize with a gain of knowledge.

Books are human productions and their readers are human beings.

The writer of a book is an individual and his readers are other individuals, each of whom is a product of a **particular** ancestry, as well as of specific or personal experiences including education.

Consequently we differ, each from the other, as we **must** and **should**, for herein, in variety of life and form, is concealed the great secret of competitive progress, a matter which, because it is not in the least understood, we are yet fighting, shedding tears over, and trying to monopolize and to socialize out of existence.

If this booklet gives the reader an idea and stimulates his mental action, it will render a valuable service.

If it convinces him that the book is worthy of a wide circulation, he should recommend it to others in simple justice—but he is here requested to leave all **charity**, even all **generosity**, out of his comments and recommendations. The writer desires honest opinions, even though they may be given with entire lack of understanding, for he is trying to learn what he must do to make himself understood.

The sale of a local production and its price should be no greater than its **merit**—but local prejudice should make it **no less**.

It is possible—it **has** happened—that there **may be** issued outside of New York City, by an author with no after-attachment to his

name, a book, the cost of which has been defrayed by the writer, and that this book may still have **some** merit.

But if this book have merit who is to ascertain in what it consists? Why, some one far away, of course.

Those who most strongly urge the encouragement of home industry with patronage—chambers of commerce and bankers for instance—do so to influence others to do the patronizing.

Perhaps you have noticed that few of those who receive heavy business rents make their purchases in home cities—that the rents of the smaller cities are paid out in New York, Chicago, and Boston, while a very large part of the ground rent of these large cities is, or has been, spent beyond the Atlantic—much of it squandered in vulgar display.

To make this somewhat plainer, this tendency of local prejudice to handicap local production, the writer here paraphrases a few thoughts on the psychology of the matter from the body of this little volume.

Practically, men are prejudiced against the **easily obtained**, the **near at hand**, and the **familiar**. Those who make things worth hav-

ing, they feelingly believe, are far away, in New York or in Europe, perhaps; those who know things worth telling are either all dead, or they **too** are far away—anyhow they are not in sight.

Not having learned to understand and master their prejudices, men are mastered by them and prevented from thinking—no man can select intrinsic values from the material of life, can discard the unfit, without something to select with, other than his hands.

Hence, the saying that “Distance lends enchantment to the view” is a brief statement of a truth having a very wide application in the affairs of the majority of men and women.

That is, distance, money, fine garments, emotional speech, official position, theatrical attire, assumed dignity, music, as well as many other things of like nature, lend a stage effect, give to personality a romantic glamour that tends to strike with awe and subdue the average mind.

“Distance,” either in time or in space, “lends enchantment.” Hence, fields when viewed from afar appear to be smooth and more intensely green. To a certain class of Western men, the finest flavored apples, all

the books, bookstores and libraries worth having are in the East.

This is the attitude of mind that kills home industry, starts up neighborhood quarrels with a fly speck, and enables spurious dignity and autocratic assumption to enslave simpletons.



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OTHER BOOKS

If, having read this volume, the reader desires more from the same source, covering different fields of thought, it can be found in "Human Harmonies," in "The Greater Men and Women," in "Anarchy or Compulsory Order—Which?" in "Why You Are Not a Success," and in about one hundred other brief essays and monographs.

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